

OPENING STATEMENT

ADMIRAL STANSFIELD TURNER, U.S. NAVY
AT CONFIRMATION HEARINGS BEFORE
THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TODAY TO EXPRESS MY VIEWS REGARDING INTELLIGENCE, AND MY NOMINATION BY THE PRESIDENT AS DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE FOR THE UNITED STATES. I WOULD FIRST, HOWEVER, LIKE TO THANK SENATOR PERCY AND SENATOR STEVENSON OF MY HOME STATE, ILLINOIS, FOR THEIR GENEROUS AND VERY KIND INTRODUCTIONS.

GOVERNMENTS, NO LESS THAN INDIVIDUALS, REQUIRE ACCURATE AND TIMELY INFORMATION ON WHICH TO BASE DECISIONS. THE COLLECTION, EVALUATION, AND USE OF INFORMATION TO PROTECT NATIONAL SECURITY AND TO FORMULATE AND CARRY OUT A FOREIGN POLICY IS AN ALTOGETHER NORMAL AND APPROPRIATE FUNCTION OF A SOVEREIGN STATE. MORE THAN THAT, IT IS VITAL TO ANY NATION WHICH ASPIRES TO RETAIN ITS POSITION OF LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD.

TODAY, IN AN ERA OF EFFORT TO REDUCE INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS, THE UNITED STATES NEEDS AN INTELLIGENCE

ORGANIZATION OF HIGH QUALITY AND RESPONSIVENESS PROBABLY MORE THAN EVER BEFORE. CONGRESS ITSELF HAS RECOGNIZED THE FACT THAT THE SUCCESS OF ON-GOING NEGOTIATIONS LIKE SALT AND MBFR WILL DEPEND IN PART ON OUR ABILITY TO VERIFY THAT THE PROVISIONS OF PAST AGREEMENTS ARE BEING MET. THUS, OUR INTELLIGENCE WILL BE ONE BASIS FOR DEVELOPING MUTUAL TRUST. IF IT IS FAULTY WE MAY MISJUDGE; IF IT IS INADEQUATE WE MAY NOT READ THE SIGNALS CORRECTLY. WITHOUT GOOD INTELLIGENCE WE MAY MISS OPPORTUNITIES FOR ENSURING THE WORLD OF PEACE. I INTEND TO HAVE THE BEST INTELLIGENCE AGENCY IN THE WORLD. I THINK THIS CAN BE DONE AND STILL BE FULLY CONSISTENT WITH AMERICAN VALUES AND LAW.

AT THE SAME TIME THAT WE ARE WORKING TOWARD INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING, WE ARE ALSO WITNESSING SUBSTANTIAL INVESTMENT BY THE SOVIETS IN MILITARY FORCES, WHETHER THEIR FORCES ARE LARGER OR SMALLER THAN OURS, OR STRONGER OR WEAKER, OR BETTER OR POORER, IS OPEN TO PROLONGED DEBATE. IT DOES SEEM CLEAR TO ME, HOWEVER, THAT WE ARE GOING TO REQUIRE ALL THE LEVERAGE THAT GOOD INTELLIGENCE CAN PROVIDE TO OUR MILITARY FORCES IF WE ARE GOING TO REMAIN ADEQUATELY STRONG FOR OUR NEEDS. AND, THERE ARE MORE THAN MILITARY CONCERNS IN TODAY'S CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE. INTELLIGENCE MUST BE AWARE OF FOREIGN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

DEVELOPMENTS AS WELL AS MILITARY ONES AND TO RELATE ALL OF THESE IN ASSESSING PROSPECTS FOR CRISIS AND DISORDER SO THAT AMERICAN POLICIES CAN BE DEVELOPED TO ABATE SUCH PROSPECTS.

THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND THAT WE POSSESS THE CAPABILITY TO HAVE THE BEST OF ALL INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. TO DO THAT, THOUGH, WE MUST ENSURE THAT OUR INTELLIGENCE RESOURCES ARE EMPLOYED IN AN OPTIMAL FASHION.

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE PRESIDENT HAS WITHIN THE LAST FEW DAYS MADE IT EXPRESSLY CLEAR TO ME THAT HE EXPECTS THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE TO BE ABLE TO ENSURE HIM THAT OUR NATIONAL EFFORT TO COLLECT AND ANALYZE CURRENT INTELLIGENCE AND TO DEVELOP NEW SYSTEMS OF COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS PRIORITIES AND WITH MINIMAL DUPLICATION OF EFFORT. HE ALSO WANTS TO BE ENSURED THAT THE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE WORK OF ALL AGENCIES OF THE GOVERNMENT IS BEING CONDUCTED STRICTLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH LAW AND AMERICAN VALUES. THE PRESIDENT INDICATED THAT WHILE HE BELIEVES THAT THESE OBJECTIVES ARE ENCOMPASSED BY EXISTING LAW AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTIVES, HE INTENDS TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE CONGRESS ON ANY REVISIONS TO LAW AND TO EXECUTIVE ORDERS AS MAY

BE DESIRABLE TO ASSIST THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE FULFILLING THOSE CHARGES.

I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN ADHERE TO THE PRESIDENT'S GUIDANCE FOR GREAT EFFICIENCY AND RESPONSIVENESS WITHIN FULL LEGALITY WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY MAINTAINING THE AUTONOMY, THE IMAGINATIVE INITIATIVES, AND THE INDEPENDENT VOICE OF THE VARIOUS AGENCIES OF OUR NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE STRUCTURE. AS A MILITARY MAN, I APPRECIATE THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING A DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE IN OUR SUBORDINATE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES, AS WELL, OF COURSE AS IN TACTICAL INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS. I HAVE ALREADY DISCUSSED THIS QUESTION WITH THE SECRETARY AND DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND KNOW THAT WE ALL APPROACH IT WITH OPEN AND COOPERATIVE MINDS. WE ALL SEEK THE GREATER EFFECTIVENESS AND EFFICIENCY FROM BETTER DIRECTION AND COORDINATION: WE ALL ABHOR ANY THOUGHT OF A DEGREE OF CENTRALIZATION WHERE ALTERNATIVE JUDGMENTS CANNOT BE HEARD AND UNCERTAINTIES DISCUSSED. AGAIN, THE PRESIDENT STATED THAT HE FEELS THAT DECISION-MAKERS IN CONGRESS, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND THE MILITARY ARE BETTER SERVED IF THEY ALL WORK FROM THE SAME FOUNDATION OF INTELLIGENCE. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT CONSENSUS AMONG THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY NEED BE FORCED OR THAT DISSENTING OPINION

NEED BE STIFLED. CONTRARY VIEWS MUST BE PRESENTED, BUT IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE RATIONALE FOR SUCH DISSENT IS CLEARLY EVIDENT.

IN FACT, WERE THE SENATE TO CONFIRM ME FOR THIS POSITION, I WOULD LOOK ON MAINTAINING THE OBJECTIVITY WHICH COMES FROM CONSIDERING DIVERGENT VIEWPOINTS AS MY HIGHEST PRIORITY. OBJECTIVITY BENEFITS BOTH THE PRODUCER OF INTELLIGENCE AND THE USER. OBVIOUSLY, THE USER BENEFITS BECAUSE HE IS GIVEN ALL REASONABLE ALTERNATIVES. AS A USER OF INTELLIGENCE DURING MY ENTIRE CAREER, I UNDERSTAND VERY WELL THE IMPORTANCE OF APPROACHING DECISIONS WITH A RANGE OF CHOICES IN HAND, NOT JUST A SINGLE OPTION. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT I AM AWARE OF THE DANGERS TO MILITARY PLANNING AND OPERATIONS OF INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES THAT ARE BIASED IN ONE DIRECTION. THE PRODUCER OF INTELLIGENCE ALSO BENEFITS FROM EMPHASIS ON OBJECTIVITY BECAUSE HE IS NOT ASKED TO COMPROMISE HIS INTELLECTUAL OR SCIENTIFIC INTEGRITY TO SUPPORT AN ESTABLISHED POSITION, BUT IS ASKED TO LAY OUT ALL SIDES OF A CASE INDICATING THE LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE HE HAS IN THE DEDUCTIONS HE HAS MADE FROM THE FACTS AT HAND. OBJECTIVITY MUST CONTINUE TO BE THE HALLMARK OF OUR INTELLIGENCE EFFORT.

MY SECOND POINT OF EMPHASIS WOULD BE TO ENSURE THAT THE WORK OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS CONDUCTED LAWFULLY. I BELIEVE, WITH MY DEEPEST CONVICTION, THAT OUR GREATEST STRENGTH AS A WORLD POWER IS OUR MORAL DEDICATION TO THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL. IF ANY PART OF OUR GOVERNMENT IS PERCEIVED TO FUNCTION OUTSIDE THIS FUNDAMENTAL AMERICAN TENET IT CAN ONLY BRING DISCREDIT ON THE WHOLE. I BELIEVE THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF EVERY AMERICAN ARE INVIOABLE AND THAT IT IS THE SOLEMN DUTY OF EVERY AGENCY OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO PROTECT THOSE RIGHTS.

I ALSO BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE VALID NATIONAL SECRETS AND RECOGNIZE THAT THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE IS OBLIGATED BY LAW TO PREVENT THE UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS. THUS, THOUGH AMERICAN CITIZENS RIGHTFULLY CAN EXPECT THEIR GOVERNMENT TO OPERATE OPENLY, THERE MUST BE A RELATIVELY SMALL AMOUNT OF INFORMATION AND ACTIVITY WHICH, FOR THE GOOD OF THE WHOLE SOCIETY, MUST BE KEPT SECRET. AS LONG AS REPRESENTATIVE GROUPS OF DULY ELECTED OFFICIALS, LIKE THIS COMMITTEE AND THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE, ARE KEPT INFORMED, AND AS LONG AS THEY CAN ACT FOR THE SOCIETY IN REGULATING SECRET INFORMATION AND ACTIVITIES, I THINK THE DIFFICULT BALANCE BETWEEN

NECESSARY SECRECY AND AN OPEN, DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY CAN BE MAINTAINED.

FROM MY DISCUSSIONS OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS, IT APPEARS TO ME THAT THIS COMMITTEE HAS TAKEN GREAT AND SUCCESSFUL STRIDES IN IMPROVING COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. I FULLY SUPPORT THIS PROGRESS AND PHILOSOPHY. WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PREROGATIVES OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, I WOULD INTEND TO DO MY PART IN ENSURING THAT CONGRESS REMAINS A FULL AND KNOWLEDGEABLE PARTNER.

SIMILARLY, I BELIEVE THAT IT IS INCUMBENT ON THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY TO MAKE A SERIOUS AND CONTINUING EFFORT TO AVOID OVERCLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION AND EVEN TO ATTEMPT TO SELECTIVELY PUBLISH UNCLASSIFIED INFORMATION WHICH IS OF HIGH VALUE TO OUR CITIZENS.

EVEN THOUGH THE VARIOUS DISCLOSURES OF QUESTIONABLE INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES DURING THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS WERE NECESSARY, THEY HAVE DAMAGED THE PUBLIC REPUTATION OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. A THIRD AREA OF EMPHASIS WOULD BE TO CONTINUE TO REBUILD THIS REPUTATION. THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY BY AND LARGE IS COMPRISED OF

WELL-QUALIFIED, HARD-WORKING INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE AS DEDICATED TO AMERICAN IDEALS AS ANY OF US. AS IN ANY ORGANIZATION, THEY NEED A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IS EXPECTED OF THEM; THEY NEED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WORK WHICH THEY DO TO BE RECOGNIZED; AND THEY NEED THE OPPORTUNITY FOR REWARD. I WOULD INTEND TO MAKE THE REALIZATION OF THOSE GOALS ONE OF MY HIGHEST PRIORITIES..

TO ACHIEVE THIS WE MUST CONTINUE THE WORK OF RESTORING CONFIDENCE IN THE CREDIBILITY OF THE INTELLIGENCE EFFORT. THIS CAN ONLY BE DONE BY ACTION NOT WORDS. REDUNDANT PROGRAMS, PAROCHIAL CAUSES, AND NEEDLESS CONTROVERSY WITHIN THE COMMUNITY MUST BE ELIMINATED. EVERYONE'S FULL EFFORT MUST BE DEVOTED TO PRODUCING THE FINEST QUALITY OF INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION AND ESTIMATES OF WHICH WE ARE CAPABLE. THAT PRODUCT WILL MEASURE OUR INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY'S WORTH. COUPLED WITH GOOD COMMUNICATION WITH THE CONGRESS AND THE MAXIMUM DISCLOSURE PERMISSABLE TO THE PUBLIC, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO CREATE THAT MEASURE OF CONFIDENCE AND CREDIBILITY WHICH IS VITAL TO A SUCCESSFUL INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM.

THERE IS MUCH WORK AHEAD, AND, PERSONALLY, I AM EXCITED BY THE CHALLENGE. I HAVE BEEN IN THE SERVICE OF OUR NATION FOR OVER 30 YEARS AND VIEW THIS APPOINTMENT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE THAT SERVICE IN AN AREA OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE.

GENTLEMEN, YOU HAVE MY BIOGRAPHY SO I SEE NO NEED IN DETAILING FURTHER MY EXPERIENCE IN MANAGING LARGE ORGANIZATIONS OR IN THE ANALYSIS AND RATIONALIZATION OF IMPORTANT DEFENSE PROGRAMS.

IN CONCLUSION, THEN, MAY I SIMPLY REITERATE THAT I RESPECT THE DEDICATED PROFESSIONALS IN OUR CIVILIAN AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS. I WANT THEM TO REALIZE THEIR FULL CAPABILITIES. I HOPE TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO BE INNOVATIVE, QUESTIONING AND OBJECTIVE IN THEIR APPROACH TO ALL PROBLEMS. THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY HAVE GOOD REASON TO BE PROUD OF THE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION THEY MAKE TO THIS NATION. THEY ARE VITAL TO OUR CONTINUED FREEDOM BECAUSE THE CONTINUATION OF FREEDOM IS DEPENDENT ON AN OBJECTIVE AWARENESS OF ANYTHING WHICH COULD THREATEN IT.

AT THE SAME TIME, I UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR HONEST AND RIGIDLY ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS IF THEY ARE TO BE USEFUL TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS. IF I AM CONFIRMED, I WILL WORK VIGOROUSLY

TO REESTABLISH THE FULL CREDIBILITY OF THE COMMUNITY'S
WORK, TO ENSURE THAT A WORTHWHILE CONTRIBUTION IS MADE
TO SUPPORT THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, AND TO REQUIRE
THAT THE GATHERING AND DISSEMINATION OF INTELLIGENCE
IN THE UNITED STATES IS CONSISTENT WITH THE IDEALS
UPON WHICH THIS COUNTRY WAS FOUNDED.